

RP draft ^{is being}
prep ^{and} ^{discussed}
some ^{for} ^{Diem}
war

1964

1. The ~~Dangerous~~ Internal Situation in Vietnam. The internal situation of Vietnam has considerably worsened during the past few weeks. The ~~increasing~~ ~~military~~ ~~incapacity~~ Vietcong attacks appear to be on the increase as North Vietnamese ^{Communist} ~~forces~~ infiltrators and local recruits add to ~~the~~ ^{their} strength. This would not, however, be cause for great alarm, had not the political situation taken a sharp turn for the worse. The incapacity to achieve unity and ^a consensus, on the one hand between ~~the~~ ~~the~~ various Vietnamese political and military elements and on the other hand between ~~the~~ Vietnamese and Americans, has ~~thus~~ made the position of the Vietnamese Government an extremely precarious one. General Khanh's authority is continuously challenged by various military and political factions, and most recently by General Taylor himself over the "Go North" issue, and can only be maintained by temporary concessions and compromises.

2. Immediate Dangers

2. Anticipated Developments. As seen through Vietnamese eyes, this situation cannot ~~long~~ persist even for the ~~few~~ short time of a few ~~more~~ months without the imminent resulting ^{in almost certain and} danger of sudden ~~and~~ collapse. ~~Thus~~ Such it is difficult to see the a sudden collapse of the present structure of authority could occur in many ways, all of which would entail dire con-

sequences for both Vietnam and the United States. For instance, a deadlock over some important issue ^{might which would} ~~might~~ provoke uncontrollable ~~protests~~ demonstrations in Saigon or VC terrorism ^{or attacks} organized on a large scale ~~which~~ to which the present Government, for lack of unity, ~~it~~ would be unable to respond, could occasion the disintegration of authority. A coup d'etat or a secession ^{lead} ~~by Vietnamese~~ ~~Khong Le~~ move lead by ~~a~~ a military group animated with neutralist tendencies (~~and~~ ~~a~~ "Khong Le" coup) would immediately cause ~~chaos~~ ^{chaos} for which ^{neither} ~~the United States~~ ~~Vietnamese~~ ^{nor Americans} would ~~it~~ have ~~any~~ remedy, except ^{possibly} ~~for~~ outright U.S. intervention. These are not remote possibilities but ^{are} the most likely results ~~at~~ the present unstable situation persists.

3. Key Basis For a Solution. To solve the problems of internal political instability and to avoid the danger of imminent collapse, we ^(must understand and) ~~must~~ attach the root causes of the present situation. The Vietnamese (at least those who are knowledgeable and reasonable) realize that it is first up to them to unite in their efforts to establish a stable government. But the fact is that Vietnam is now in very special circumstances. The country has just emerged from a

and has suffered a century of French colonialism, from twenty years of war and ten years of dictatorship. In this situation, disunity is ~~and~~ among Vietnamese leaders and elements is ~~exclusionary~~ ^{political} and only the aid of an outside "catalyst" such as the Americans can help them get together.

The American effort to date has not, however, been directed mainly at their most urgent and essential goal.

~~All truly patriotic Vietnamese are~~
grateful for the massive and unstinting

material support the United States has given, without which Vietnam would have long ago ceased to exist as ^{an} independent country. But the truth is that this aid, under present conditions, ~~will~~ ^{can} never ~~bring~~ the desired results. ~~a unified~~ bring about a unified, ~~and~~ stable and accepted rather than imposed Vietnamese Government which is the sine qua non to put that aid to good use. ~~is~~ More defeating the Vietnamese, money, men and material will not solve Vietnamese

political problems. What is needed is a ~~selective and concentrated~~ ^{concentration} of American effort to ~~or assisting~~ informally and discreetly assisting the Vietnamese leaders in achieving political unity, ~~and~~ ^{in establishing} an acceptable political framework and ~~program~~ in which ~~to~~ ^{all may} work and ^{in implementing} a political program to which all ascribe.

4. Proper Approach. The

4. Proposed Solution. To ^{properly} assist in achieving a lasting solution to the ~~present~~ political instability of the present Vietnamese Government, is not to engage in a game of "musical chairs". It is not a matter of imposing one individual or another on Chief of Government. (~~Many~~

~~the kind of a crisis that would~~

~~be a very public one for~~

~~the people to know about~~

~~in the United States.)~~

What is needed is to establish a political framework and a program ~~to~~ a team of ~~to~~ which all sincere Vietnamese leaders, whether military or civilian, ^{can assemble in} with support, and ^{in which} defines ~~author~~ the rules ^{each is to play} and the authority ^{each} ~~to~~ possesses or ^{defined}.

To achieve this, we need a new concept ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~basis~~ of "partnership" between Vietnamese and Americans. This ~~would be~~ ^{means} partnership in the making of policy to have a sound platform, partnership in the implementation of policy so as to have a team of dedicated and effective men to put into practice the

platform, and partnership in general terms so as to establish a whole structure of Government viable enough to ~~draw~~ ^{draw} ~~the~~ support of the population.

This notion of partnership excludes on the part of the Vietnamese any kind of old-fashioned, obsolete ultra-nationalism and rigid national sovereignty while on the American side it excludes the rigid ~~formality~~ ~~formality~~ of traditional diplomacy or any tendencies to command or impose. If it is to succeed it will require the most skillful and understanding American participation and help. ~~Within such a framework, ^{stable and} viable Vietnamese leadership will emerge which will in turn provide the inspiration for the~~ ~~for with the~~ ~~to be won. Within~~ such a framework useful work can be found on Constitutional Committees, ^{and other bodies} Advisory Councils, for all the civilian politicians who are now causing so much trouble because they have no way to contribute. And within such a framework, stable and viable Vietnamese leadership will emerge which will in turn provide the inspiration and the honest and efficient administration ~~for which will permit the war to be won.~~